Volume XCIII No. 19 February 12, 1971 40 cents

commonweal

CELINA OH 45822
CARTHAGENA STATION
ST CHARLES SEM LIBRARY
A-68108 12-71

TWENTY-ONE THESES

A RADICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE 1970s
ARTHUR I. WASKOW

ROCK AND REBELLION

FROM MODERN JAZZ TO HARD ROCK
IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ

RHODESIA: THE CHURCH HESITANT ESTHER McCARTHY **SPIRO AND THE BUCHWALD BLUES** WILLIAM O'TOOLE **SPECIES AMERICANA** COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR. **THESE, THESE OUR PLAYERS** NORA L. MAGID **ORDAINED WOMEN** ARLENE SWIDLER **IS CUBA SOCIALIST?** JORDAN BISHOP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS & VIEWS

Stringfellow, Towne

The scene was the news conference at New York Theological Seminary announcing the formation of a Committee for the Defense of William Stringfellow and Anthony Towne—at whose Block Island home Dan Berrigan was picked up last August, and who are now themselves under indictment for harboring and concealing, and for hindering authorities in their pursuit of Berrigans.

The assembly room was thick with TV cameras, microphones and newsmen, most of whom had come with visions of a dramatic revelation being made. Instead, they heard pleasant testimonials. Stringfellow and Towne reread their statement of innocence originally released last December. The only "new" news was the Defense Committee and its composition.

Even here the press conference sagged, for it opened with an announcement that the name of Mrs. Martin Luther King was to be deleted from the hand-out; her confirmation had not been received. The names of Father Richard McSorley and John Cogley were to be added. . . . It was a little like swapping Joe Namath for Dick Shiner.

A TV newsman with fine, chiseled features and lackluster questioning powers strained for an angle.

"Was there anything significant," he asked Bill Stringfellow, "that aside from the Berrigans and Father (sic) Cogley, there weren't any Catholics on the Committee?"

It was an understandable question, in a way, for the Committee did look thin on Catholics—six out of 56, before the additions of McSorley and Cogley.

Stringfellow explained that the Committee was "still in formation." He did want it noted, however, that the Committee included the "leading contemporary saint —Dorothy Day." Quality counted, as indeed it should.

Joe Cunneen, one of the organizers of the Committee and one of the Catholics uncounted by the TV-man, displayed an impatience with the question after the press conference.

"It's the way we wanted it; the way the Committee should be, at least at this time," said Cunneen. "We could have gotten all the Catholic names we wanted."

Cunneen was more sanguine on the last point than we would be. An awful lot of Catholics, particularly name-Catholics, are playing the Berrigan thing close to the vest at the moment.

On Cunneen's larger point, there's no arguing. The important thing is the Committee not its quota of one thing or another. As comprised, the Committee for the Defense of William Stringfellow and Anthony Towne is excellent.

The purposes of the Committee are to ensure "an effective defense and the funds and other resources necessary" for this. The Committee has opened an office in Room 1700, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y., 10027; phone, 212-870-3138. The Rev. Melvin E. Schoonover, a long-time friend of Stringfellow and Towne, and currently Dean of Continuing Education at New York Theological Seminary, is serving as national coordinator.

The Stringfellow-Towne case is, of course, a worthy one, sentimentally, ideologically, morally. It is also one of constitutional importance, for, as the Committee statement notes, their impending trial could help clarify the disposition of conflicts between conscientious actions and the authority of the state, and, in turn, of issues respecting the free practice of religion.

All who agree will want to extend the Committee the strong support it deserves.

The Sontay Syndrome

An officer briefed the Saigon press corps on the Jan. 17 raid into Cambodia against a Vietcong prisoner-of-war camp, where, Intelligence said, 20 Americans were being held.

Three hundred South Vietnamese paratroopers were airlifted in, with American helicopter gunships flying as escorts.

"It worked perfectly," the officer said of the three-hour raid. "We suffered no casualties."

The camp was found empty.

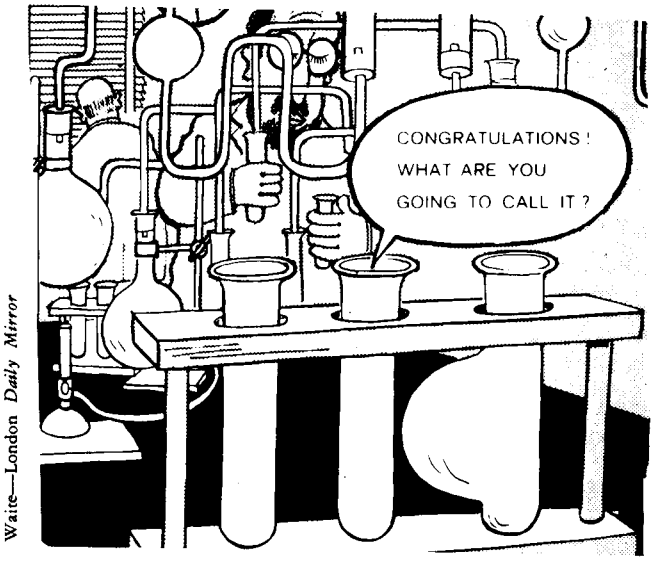
The Archbishop Speaks

Further evidence of the new flexibility manifested by the South Vietnamese hierarchy is offered by *Informations Catholiques,* in a report of a sermon delivered by Saigon's Archbishop Van Binh on the feast of the Vietnamese martyrs.

The sermon made an impression as much by the absence of any anti-Communist references as by the judgment Archbishop Van Binh leveled on his country: "Christ was persecuted and died for having shattered the dream of those secure ones who benefitted from the established order by living off the suffering of others."

Many perceived in another sentence a criticism of the Thieu government: "We cannot accept a system in which a million men (the number of South Vietnamese in the armed forces) must be sacrificed to defend the privileges of a few."

Vietnamese Catholic papers of the Right have not mentioned the sermon, according to *Informations,* while those of the Left declared that it encouraged them to fight against the injustice and corruption which prevail in the South Vietnamese regime.



Waite—London *Daily Mirror*

Odds and Ends

—Like other alumni groups, the Holy Cross Club of New York is baffled by the loss of dues-paying members. It needn't be; the answer is in its own literature. This, from the club president's letter reporting on the major fall get-together: "Head Football Coach Bill Whitton gave a thorough and candid discussion of the present state and future prospects of football at Holy Cross, which was followed by a stimulating question and answer period." There was wonderment because only 60 showed.

—*Today,* the national Catholic student magazine founded in 1946 by James O'Gara and John Cogley, and befriended by the late Archbishop Sheil, will be discontinued with its June issue. The Claretian Fathers, present publishers, blame "the continuing closing of Catholic high schools, combined with rising costs." JOHN DEEDY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

HEW on the Health Crisis

Washington, D. C.

To the Editors: I was very interested in Edward Chase's article on "The Health Crisis" [Dec. 4], particularly because he says that group practice must be the "keystone" of any attempt to reform the health care delivery system. Group practice *is* the keystone of our strategy as approved by the Senate Finance Committee a few weeks ago. I am very hopeful that we can now look forward to the expansion of the concepts of group practice and preventive medicine throughout the country.

Because reform of our delivery system will require the cooperation of all elements of the health care enterprise, as well as the public itself, I am grateful for the attention you have given to the need for reform in the health field.

JOHN G. VENEMAN
Under Secretary of Health
Education and Welfare

P.S. 33 or the Grand Guignol?

Peoria, Ill.

To the Editors: I'm afraid Gabriel Moran's suggestion "Catechetics R.I.P.," Dec. 18] that church-sponsored schools drop the religion course won't be taken seriously by many. I'm even more afraid it will be taken seriously by some. Useless as a lot of religious ed is in the schools, kill it just now and you are left with P.S. 33—everybody's candidate for the most regressive, repressive institution of our national life. (If you are so unfortunate as to think that Catholic schools with or without religion are all that different, then my friend you are suffering a mystique. Please check in to our Mystique Clinic where patients go after they have completed the Movement Disenchantment Relief Program.)

The quality of Catholic education, no worse but unhappily no better than the public variety, is the main reason for

(Continued on page 479)

NEWS & VIEWS: 458 **CORRESPONDENCE:** 459
EDITORIALS: 459
RHODESIA: THE CHURCH HESITANT: *Esther McCarthy* 460
A NEW PEACE MOVEMENT: *Peter Steinfels* 462
TWENTY-ONE THESES: *Arthur I. Waskow* 463
SPIRO AND THE BUCHWALD BLUES: *William O'Toole* 465
ROCK AND REBELLION: *Irving Louis Horowitz* 466
THE SCREEN: *Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.* 469
VERSE: *John Fandel* 470
BOOKNOTES: *Nora L. Magid* 471 **BOOKS:** 472
Photos on Cover 1 and page 467 from The Free People *(Outerbridge & Dienstfrey)*

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor* JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
PETER STEINFELS: *Associate Editor* ANNE ROBERTSON: *Editorial Assistant*
PHILIP T. HARTUNG, COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.: *Movies* JOHN FANDEL: *Poetry*
EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Publisher* JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*
COMMONWEAL *A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts.*
Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.
Printed in the USA and published weekly,
except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and June to mid-September,
by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
MUrray Hill 3-2042. *Copyright © 1971 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.*
US and Canada, $12 a year. Foreign $14. Single copies 40¢

THE DARK NIGHT

"We have gone through a long, dark night of the American spirit," the President says. "But now that night is ending," the President says. "Now we must let our spirits soar again," the President says. "Now we are ready for the lift of a driving dream."

We must "set free the full genius of our people," the President says. Now we must "change the framework of government itself," the President says. We must reform welfare, restore the natural environment, improve health care, cure cancer, renew local government, and modernize the federal bureaucracy—through new programs, a deficit budget, revenue-sharing, and major Cabinet reorganization. The President says.

Even as the President was delivering his State of the Union address and fiscal 1972 budget to Congress, the U.S. was saturating the jungles of Cambodia and Laos with an unprecedented torrent of bombs. Questioned about whether increased American involvement in Cambodia violated Congressional strictures, Mr. Laird replied that it was a matter of "semantics." The Administration's pledge not to provide air combat support for the Cambodian operations only applied, it was announced, to the circumstances of last spring and summer. All this in the name of the Nixon Doctrine, which supposedly was to limit our Asian involvement, but which in practice seems to mean that the air over any Asian country (and the attendant right to fill it with spy planes, rockets, or bombs) belongs to the President of the United States. Secretary Rogers has assured the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the U.S. is still concerned only with protecting withdrawing troops and is not committed to maintaining the Lon Nol government. One would like to believe him. It might be more realistic to anticipate the day when the Administration announces that as long as an Asian is pulling the trigger, it does not matter that an American "Military Equipment Delivery Team Member"—the latest Orwellese—actually aims the gun.

However much one suspects that Mr. Rogers' pledge resembles that long gray line of pledges which have marched before it (Vice President Agnew recently stated that we had to give the Lon Nol government all the help we could), the Secretary of State's remarks do point to one fundamental fact: what is wrong in America's Southeast Asian policy is not merely the latest danger of expansion or deeper involvement in Cambodia and Laos; the problem *is* the whole scheme of withdrawals plus Vietnamization plus possi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ble air and logistics and economic aid to Saigon for an indefinitely extended period, all of it amounting to the absurd request that Hanoi tacitly agree to conduct itself so that its enemies win the conflict. Rogers is right in linking U.S. actions in Cambodia and Laos to basic U.S. policy for Vietnam itself. He is wrong in not recognizing that that policy is not simply risky in its latest outgrowths; it is bad at the roots.

So the "long, dark night of the American spirit" continues. However pleasant it might be to hail the President's "driving dream," his "quest for a new greatness," however interesting it might be to mark the historic reversal of Republican rhetoric indicated by the Nixon budget, the events of the recent weeks invite, or rather demand, the largest measure of skepticism. The secret of Nixonomics continues to elude us; having produced, in a remarkable fashion, simultaneous unemployment and inflation, the Administration promises simultaneously to remove them. Revenue-sharing and government restructuring may be badly needed reforms. Or they may be a complicated shell game in which the pea of desperately needed social programs disappears from sight. Or they may be a great diversion, to keep Congress's mind off ABM and MIRV and SST for a couple of years. David T. Bazelon is only one of many who note the President's tendency to enact "an advertising campaign in lieu of an administration." Wait and see.

Mr. Nixon's "New American Revolution" was a prompt echo of George McGovern's call for a "Second American Revolution." (The first order of business, said McGovern, should be an end to the war.) It would be nice to be wrong, but that Richard Nixon should lead a second American revolution seems about as likely as George III should have led the first one.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

FROM RESOLVE TO CONFUSION

RHODESIA: THE CHURCH HESITANT

In mid-1970 the church situation in Rhodesia seemed relatively obvious: the church in no way could support a racist regime. Unless certain legislation was altered so that Catholic institutions could continue to be multiracial, the church would close its institutions on an appointed day. During the second half of the year the prolonged discussions, the gap in communication, advice from Rome and simple fear have served to reduce the former resolve into confusion if not division.

The current problem began with the election of an apartheid regime in 1969, but it took concrete form with the passage of the Land Tenure Act of March 1970. This act evenly divided the land between black and white though the blacks outnumber the whites 20 to 1. Since "occupation" was broadly interpreted as "attendance," the government had severely proscribed the points of contact between the races. The concept of "mission land" was abolished, no great loss in itself since the church's possession of 150,000 acres of land has been a scandal to many Africans even if the land was used by and for Africans. The state further required that the church register as White or African, though as a compromise it might enroll as a Voluntary Association, similar to Boy Scouts, which may cross color lines.

Both before the elections of 1969 and after the proposal of the Land Tenure Act, the bishops issued courageous pastoral letters warning about the dangers and consequences of a racist regime. Once the Land Tenure Act was passed, the bishops met with various church groups (though not with lay groups) and discussed the stand which the church must take. In April the bishops bravely spoke out against the Land Tenure Act, declared it un-Christian, and said that they would prefer to close all Catholic institutions than to support such a system. In their decision, the bishops said, they had been enlightened by the spirit of Vatican II and forewarned by comparable situations in Germany and South Africa. At the April 27 meeting of the Education Commission, it was agreed that simultaneous closure of institutions was essential in order to make strikingly clear the church's radical application of Christian belief in the equality of man. The bishops clarified that if any were to be imprisoned, they would go first. This was greeted with applause in which the bishops promptly joined. What made the decision of the bishops slightly easier was the fact that virtually all major denominations agreed not to register as Voluntary Associations and looked to the bishops as leaders in the discussions with the government. What made the decision more painful was the opposition of many Catholics, including some in positions of influence; what made it confusing was the assent of some on an intellectual level who yet were anxious to "negotiate" on a practical level.

After the April decision, Bishop Donal Lamont held discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, and then a pall of silence fell. Finally by the day of registration in September the government came up with a "concession." They blandly declared all church organizations Voluntary Associations. They sweetened the pill by some peripheral concessions. Mission ground which had been taken over and declared black or white was returned to these newly created bodies. People of different races employed on the mission would be allowed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to live together without applying for a permit. Many saw the "concession" on the mission lands as evidence of good will on the part of the government and a willingness to come to terms. Yet the basic question of segregation had not been answered. Moreover the parliamentary debate on the amendment demonstrates that the good will has shallow roots. For example, the Acting Minister of Lands, Mr. Lance Smith, guaranteed only that "any church which behaves itself . . . is quite immune from government interference." To "behave oneself" obviously means to support the governmental policies, racist or not.

At the October meeting of Major Superiors, it was accepted that the church would submit a list of land holdings, but a warm debate followed on the question of applying to have Africans in white and colored schools. (Colored refers to people of mixed race.) Schools had drifted into small-scale integration which was officially noticed in 1961 and thereafter increasingly curtailed by administrative technique. Such token integration was forbidden by the Land Tenure Act, but now as a further concession it was granted that schools might apply to admit Africans by submitting a very involved application form for each African. Fr. Ennis, the Jesuit Provincial, explained that this was the time for diplomacy, a time to "wait and see" what the government would do after receiving the forms. After two hours of debate, the Ennis proposal was rejected by a vote of 17-6 on the grounds that to apply for Africans would concede the government the right to give or refuse the permission, the right to determine who might enroll in church schools. Another Jesuit recommended assuring the government that the number of Africans would never exceed 15 percent, though the Africans compose 90+ percent of the population.

The main event of November was the arrival of Fr. Johannes Schuette, S.V.D., from Rome. Although he is vice-secretary of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace (ironical under the circumstances), he was sent by the Congregation for the Propaganda in response to a request from the Rhodesian bishops for legal advice. A press statement of Nov. 9 issued by the Catholic Secretariat describes him as interested in missions and wishing to "meet missionaries and study at first hand the problems facing them in their work." In actual fact the visit was directly concerned wtih the crisis. Schuette discussed the situation with the bishops as well as with over 30 major local religious superiors. It is not known if any Africans were consulted. No member of lay organizations was consulted, and lay members of a pastoral council who raised the question of meeting with "the Father from Rome" were quite firmly told that he had been *privately* invited for a *private* visit with the bishops to make comparisons between missions in Rhodesia and elsewhere.

The result of this "private visit" was what Schuette terms an "official decision" (1) to negotiate with the government (mainly to be multi-racial in institutions); (2) to apply for permissions to be multi-racial, though definitely not as a group, thus avoiding a "problem of solidarity"; (3) to consider all steps and consequences if an institution is forced to close, particularly to consider phasing out the closure; (4) to recognize that certain institutions are in a special situation (which really means that they are already racist); (5) finally, to obtain as much publicity as possible out of each closure.

All assurances to the contrary, this advice waters down the earlier resolve to stand against the government. The very fact that the Land Tenure Act was amended meant that the church did have some power over the government. Meanwhile the government is forging ahead in creating a racist regime. On November 27 the Residential Property Owners (Protection) Bill was gazetted, and it is intended to guarantee against infiltrators of one race into another race's territory. This "witch hunt" bill brings Rhodesia ever closer to South Africa in its policies of apartheid and race classification.

While the government gives the impression of being secure enough to be creative in a racist fashion, the Rhodesian church now appears to be hesitant and divided. Transportation and communication in Rhodesia are still so poor that it is easy to distract oneself with local problems and to ignore the great decisions being made or not being made. Throughout the last half of 1970 communication of church decisions has dwindled to nothing. Communication with lay groups has been non-existent all year and may prove to be the breaking point in the whole crisis. The group who in history will bear the onus of the decisions are neither informed of their responsibility nor of the decisions being made. The laity moreover do have some stake in the formation of the church. As one layman expressed it: "I entirely agree with the Father from Rome when he says that the action of closing the institutions would be suicidal; yes, the institution he is representing, but it could be the rebirth of Christianity. It would appear that the church of the future is still in the womb. We can but pray and continue to work for the day when true Christian love and fellowship will emerge in the light of a new day. I had hoped that in this crisis, the opportunity, at least in this part of the world, to bring the 'new church' into being would have been taken."

There is still a chance. Not all of the bishops of Rhodesia seem to agree with the Father from Rome; there are responsible lay people ready to support the bishops if allowed to. The "new church" may yet be born in Rhodesia. ESTHER MCCARTHY

(Esther McCarthy, a Californian who has been teaching in southern Africa, has kept close watch on the Rhodesian crisis.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A NEW PEACE MOVEMENT

PETER STEINFELS

WE NEED A NEW peace movement. We do not need a new peace movement because the old one failed or because it must be replaced. Whether or not the old peace movement failed I cannot say; both its supporters and its critics tend to judge it by terribly high standards. Its supporters often refuse to recognize the genuine change in American opinion toward the war. Its critics often point to the opposition of the public to the movement itself—as though numerous social movements in history had not accomplished their goals while simultaneously becoming the objects of public reprobation and hostility.

As for *replacing* the old movement, well let us admit that at the moment, there is not much to replace. The Berrigan indictments, which occupy the minds of so many of us, may prove to be a weak link (another one) in the government's armor; but for the present the case suggests that the government has what remains of the peace movement largely on the defensive, at the very moment when the air war in Asia is being escalated, our affair with the Cambodian tar baby reaching a critical point, and the springtime bombing of North Vietnam a not-so-remote possibility. The situation of the peace movement is due to many factors, some of them the movement's own serious errors. But talk of replacing the movement, especially with something essentially very moderate, could smack of cooptation or of that greater sensitivity to the excesses of protesters than to the excesses of American foreign policy which is the hallmark of some, though not all, of the peace movement's critics. When, for example, I suggest that a new peace movement should concentrate purely and simply on getting the U.S. out of Indochina, I am not suggesting that those who entertain longer range goals about the reorientation of American foreign policy should not continue their efforts. Early in the anti-war campaign there was altogether too much energy expended by moderates in criticizing more radical demands lest respectable public opinion be shocked; later, radicals undermined whatever effectiveness moderates might have had with the moderate constituency by constantly upping the ante in terms of slogans, speeches and aims.

The first thing about a new peace movement is that it shouldn't try so hard to be new. One of the faults of the anti-war agitation has been its rapid seizure of new tactics, followed as swiftly by their abandonment if results did not come instantly. Had the National Liberation Front and Hanoi demonstrated the same impatience as the peace movement, they would have faded away long ago. Many of the tactics which the peace movement used in the past have never been exhausted. It is time someone had the courage to insist they be revived. Writing letters to Congress? Sounds impossibly naive. But didn't we grit our teeth at the effectiveness of the Administration's cynical use of letter-writing in the instance of the prisoners-of-war? The whole panoply of activities stimulated by the invasion of Cambodia last spring should now be revived.

Two things should in particular characterize a new peace movement. First it should be oriented toward the 1972 election. Not because electoral politics are everything, or because a change in the President means a total change in the system. But because '72 is a reckoning of some sort; it is a moment people can put their finger on without feeling lost in a misty anticipation of some far distant, vast transformation of American society. And also because, in the crazy ways of U.S. politics, 1972 is going to dominate political planning and punditry from here on in: why not put the war right in the middle of all this commotion?

Second, a new peace movement should be an older peace movement. For too long young people have been the grunts of the anti-war army; that they have manifested some degree of shell shock is not surprising. It is time for their elders, who the polls show are opposed to the war in equal numbers, volunteer for front-line duty. If any civil disobedience is involved, it should be peaceful. It should be symbolically meaningful. It should be calculated, with a lawyer's help *before* the act, to involve only light penalties, (Enough people are in jail.) And it should be committed by *older* people, by family men and women, by lawyers, doctors, and laborers. Let's reverse roles in this campaign for a while.

The first practical project might be the organization of a Vietnam campaign chest for 1972. The raising of funds would begin *now*, under the supervision of a suitable committee; the funds would be pledged for the support of those candidates in 1972, for the Presidency and the Congress, who are now, in 1971, exerting themselves for withdrawal of American forces regardless of the desires of the Thieu regime.

A second project might be the organization of a national campaign of pledges by individual voters to more or less the effect of: "I promise not to vote for Richard Nixon in 1972 if United States forces, ground troops, air support, and advisors, are not completely withdrawn from Vietnam by the date of that year's Republican convention. I also promise to persuade two friends to make this pledge."

Those more imaginative and more experienced than I will have other ideas. But it all depends on our courage to do that simplest and most difficult of things in this depressing climate of opinion: begin again.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TWENTY-ONE THESES

A radical perspective on the '70s

ARTHUR I. WASKOW

1. Basic Hypothesis: that in the 1970s the American Crisis will deepen and that important left-oriented insurgencies will occur in middle-class and working-class America. These will emerge from the linked crises of inflation/unemployment/taxes; the collapse of such public services as health and such essential "private" services as housing; and pollution—all tied to the malinvestment of resources during an entire generation in the War Machine and the Oil-Auto-Highway complex, instead of in the basic substructure of the country. The insurgencies will take the form of wildcat and militant "regular" labor strikes; rent strikes; escalating health demands; anti-pollution campaigns, sit-ins, etc.

2. At the same time, such growing turmoil will push parts of the working and middle class into defensive, rightward postures. In particular, the country will grow more polarized; in general, it will balance more precariously on the same center.

3. The American electoral system is now so poised as to homogenize all such contradictory pressures at the bottom of the system and to create minimal change in the balance of forces in the Presidency and Congress. (The '70 election, and for that matter the '68 election, were cases in which sizable political shifts in particular localities, groups, and classes—even the birth of a sizable new party—had practically no effect on Congress or the Presidency.)

4. But given the problems facing the country, a national government basically poised in the same place as is the present one cannot deal with the basic issue. This is because the only way to deal with the rotting-away of the basic substructure of the society is a massive sudden reinvestment of resources. Attempts to redirect money and imagination to replace the rotting substructure will be thwarted because vetoes against redirection exist in hands of (1) the military, as against radical cuts in DOD budget; (2) the big-corporation elite, as against big corporate tax increases; (3) the middle class, as against new taxes on them; (4) perhaps, the anti-pollution movement as against efforts to expand the industrial base; and probably (through the market mechanism and major declines in business profitability) from business leadership also, as against efforts to expand the industrial base.

5. These vetoes will apply not only within the Nixon Administration through 1972 but within any Congress and Administration conceivably electable in 1972, and therefore in national policy through 1976. (To make this concrete: no party in 1972 can nominate, elect, and provide a Congressional majority to a Presidential candidate who could insist on $20-billion-a-year cuts in DOD, redirection of this whole sum to domestic spending, and excess-profits-taxes on big corporations.)

6. By 1976, the accumulated frustrations and insurgencies in Middle America, especially in the context of wide social legitimacy for radical decentralized-democratic demands coming from the movements of the '60s in Black and Campus America, (i.e., demands for power, not simply for reallocation of money), will have run beyond the ability of massive redirections of money to cool off. Election of a reformist President and Congress in 1976 is therefore a possibility, but will simply give new breathing space and organizing time to radical movements among workers, professionals, suburbanites, etc.

7. Throughout this period, Blacks, Chicanos, Puertoriquenos, Appalachians, and students/hippies will continue to make trouble.

8. Throughout at least the period 1970-1976, and possibly 1970-1980, the rising turmoil will therefore push any government in the direction of repression—e.g., use of troops to break strikes, evict rent-strikers, arrest anti-pollution sit-ins at GM, etc. etc. Increasingly, however, the repression will be aimed at Middle Americans and will evoke anger against the government from Middle America. The government will not be politically able or willing to mount an all-out, crushing repression of the Left.

9. In this situation, it is absolutely necessary to preserve a veto power inside the government against repression, against massive economic depression, against tax increases on the middle class, against wage controls, against efforts to encapsulate or smash the Black community, etc. etc. This means it is necessary to protect

ARTHUR I. WASKOW *is the author of* Running Riot *(Herder and Herder) and of the forthcoming* Notes from 1999.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the existence of a liberal-reformist veto group inside the government. The liberal-reformists do *not* have to be a majority. But they must be in office. They must also be tough; Trudeau liberalism is obviously not enough.

10. In this situation, it is also absolutely necessary, and for radicals it is desirable, to greatly multiply the number of people who can run their own institutions, who can support and protect themselves, and who "own" or "hold" institutions, collectives, etc. of their own as alternatives (both as models for the future and as working survival alternatives in a crisis-prone present).

11. The ability to liberate space and time and to run people's institutions builds toward the obvious "radical" equivalent of a general election as the way to change society: i.e., the general strike. The general strike means not only a cessation of some work, but a redirection of a great deal of work away from conventional patterns and controls, into serving the people. Electoral politics does not teach people to govern themselves, but rather to organize on behalf of candidates to whom they thus turn over the power that the people have created.

12. It is therefore desirable to pursue simultaneously two political roads: the preservation of a veto against the misuse of state power; and the creation of a "new society (participatory-democratic, socialist, etc.) within the shell of the old."

13. The preservation of a veto against the misuse of state power requires participation in electoral politics. But it clearly requires winning—not a majority, but a sizable minority—of seats, power, etc. The least useful strategy would therefore be to create an electoral party that does not win a veto against misuse of state power and does not train people in self-government and survival.

14. No truly new party, organized from the grass-roots, can win a veto-power base in the national government in 1972 (when it is essential to have one). What is more, an attempt to create such a party, if it is as successful as the Wallace party, will almost certainly make impossible the election of reformist-liberals in or through the Democratic party. In short, the goal for 1972 (and probably 1976) must be to protect and if possible strengthen the reformist wing of the Democratic party, not in hopes that it can reform the country but simply in hopes it can prevent a corporatist-military reaction.

15. "Whole Chunks" of the Democratic party in states and localities where reformist-liberals are strong could, however, probably do at least as well in keeping a liberal veto alive as they do now, if they did not have opposition from moderate Democrats or liberal Republicans. Attempts should therefore be made to follow a kind of "Wisconsin model" of capturing/transforming a whole state Democratic party into a liberal-reformist one.

16. Once this is done, the liberals could insist on the nomination of a liberal-reformist Presidential nominee by the Democrats—by threatening state-bloc withdrawal from the national nominee and the national Democratic party, in favor of the nomination by the existing (Wisconsin, N.Y., California, etc.) Democratic parties of a liberal nominee, to head the regular Democratic ticket in those states. Such a withdrawal would (a) not threaten the defeat of Congressional and local Democratic candidates, and thus the destruction of the liberal veto power; (b) give the liberals direct bargaining power with the "regular" Democratic nominee, in the electoral college and the House of Representatives.

17. To capture whole Democratic parties in particular states, as we have seen from the McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns, it is extremely useful to have a thoroughly energetic, preferably nationally linked campaign. But a repeat of the McCarthy or Kennedy campaign with a similar candidate will not energize the same pizzaz it did in '68. Students and Blacks, for example, are now more oriented to radical-alternative policies, "building the new society within the shell of the old." Middle-class women, young professionals, and some segments of the blue-collar working class are now where the equivalent of McCarthy-Kennedy energy must come from.

18. In order to pursue the strategy of securing a liberal-reformist veto inside the national government, therefore, the most important step would seem to be a peace-consumer-new-priorities-pro-worker Presidential campaign in the Democratic Primaries by a new, fresh, "non-political," energetic person. My own recommendation would be Bella Abzug or Ralph Nader in that order. Such a campaign should start soon.

19. The most dangerous period may well be 1971-1972, as the Nixon Administration faces the loss of the '72 elections and tries to "clean up" the opposition before it leaves office (or in order to keep on in office) and before Middle America has gotten into motion in alliance with Blacks and the Campuses. (N.B. Hoover statements, Hickel firing, etc.) In this period, till the '72 elections, liberals in Congress should use their veto power to the full against every right-ward tug of the Nixon Administration, against the war, etc. Filibusters and obstruction of the regular Congressional business (e.g., refusal of unanimous consent to waive reading the Journal) should be directed against right-wing Presidential nominees, Vietnam and ABM appropriations, wage controls, taxes on the middle class, repressive "crime" or "subversion" acts, etc.

19. Meanwhile, radicals should not attempt to create a wholly new radical or left-liberal party, and should not encourage liberals to do so but instead to work for control of or a veto in or an en-bloc secession from/negotiation with the Democratic party, as described above.

20. More important, radicals should put their energy into (1) the creation of new counter-institutions that do necessary social work and are model-answers to the question, "What's your alternative?" in the area of crucial production, and (2) challenges to undemocratic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

control of present production institutions—hospitals, factories, government offices, etc. etc. etc. Such challenges should train people to run the institutions democratically. Radicals should see their prime task as organizing for an ultimate general strike, and their prime constituency-of-orientation as working-class and "middle-class" or new-working-class America.

21. Wherever possible, organizing should focus around workplace and should cut across class and occupational lines at the workplace. (This can include the creation of new, democratic-communitarian workplaces. But such new workplaces should accept as their task the direct addressing/organizing of one or more old, elitist workplaces.) Efforts should be made to carry forward from ethnic, sexual and neighborhood organizing into workplaces.

Spiro and the Buchwald Blues

Eric Sevareid used one of his loosely scheduled commentary periods on the CBS-TV evening news program to reflect ruefully on the move to London by the American humorist, S. J. Perelman. Sevareid wondered: "If Perelman has gone, can Art Buchwald be far behind?"

I happen to know that there is as much truth as transplanted poetry in Sevareid's remark. A friend of mine in Washington, whose hobby is Capital gossip, told me that if it hadn't been for quick thinking on the part of Art Buchwald's wife, Perelman would be the *second* American humorist-émigré and that Buchwald would have long since returned to Paris where he lived for several post-WWII years.

My friend gave me a transcript of a conversation between Art Buchwald and his wife at the time Vice President Spiro Agnew was verbally lambasting everything liberal in sight. I know it is authentic because my friend happens to be the one who gave Buchwald the transcript of a conversation between Attorney General John Mitchell and *his* wife, showing how fearful the Mitchells were of liberals, especially when they found John Kenneth Galbraith taking a shower in the bathroom of their Washington apartment. Buchwald put it all down in a column titled, "The Mitchell Fear." So I know he won't mind if I do the same with him.

"Oh, hello, dear," said Mrs. Buchwald. "Did you have a funny day?"

"I guess I might as well tell you," Art replied. "There may never be any more funny days."

"How can that be? When Nixon was elected President you were elated. You said he was sure to provide you with funny material for half your columns."

"He has more than lived up to my expectations."

"And when he chose an expert in municipal bonds to run the Justice Department you leaned your head back and shouted at our ceiling: 'Manna from heaven!' "

"It was, it was."

"And when Vice President Agnew started making a spectacle of himself your joy knew no bounds. You even said you were happy we left Paris for Washington."

"Well, as our Parisian neighbors used to say: it is to laugh. Now I am *fini*. I can never write funny stuff about them again."

"You mean, they impeached Nixon and Agnew already?"

"Worse than that. A poll shows that 52 percent of Americans approve of Agnew and are against journalists like me and Sevareid."

"At least your side got 48 percent. That's not bad."

"No, we didn't. There were Undecideds. Do you know what happens to a humor columnist when he realizes that over half his readers are not laughing along with him? He dies."

"Nonsense. You're as healthy as Agnew."

"He dies *inside*."

"Oh, that."

The telephone rang and Art answered it. When he finished, he turned to his wife as white-faced as he had described John Mitchell when he found out who was the stranger using his shower.

"That was from New York," he said. "A TV news executive friend of mine—one of the elite of the media—and he said another poll just came out showing Agnew coming in third as the most admired man in America and that is higher than any Vice President in 32 years."

Art made a nostalgic Gallic Shrug.

"I just don't understand it. With so many college graduates today, how is it possible?" His voice took on an edge of panic. "It must be the work of Communists."

"Art, get a grip on yourself."

"It might even be the work of—liberals!"

"Now you are sounding like the Mitchells."

"Find out the departure time of the next plane to Paris! I want to emigrate from this humorless country!"

Art's wife dashed into the kitchen and raced back with a pie in her hand. She immediately hurled it at her husband's face.

"Thank you, dear," Art said through the custard. "I needed that."

WILLIAM O'TOOLE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROCK AND REBELLION

From modern jazz to hard rock—a sociological view

IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ

In the sociology of music, most analysis seems to start with the musician instead of his music. That is, standard stratification variables of class and racial backgrounds, urban life styles, regional and sectional characteristics and so forth are generally employed. Some very useful work has been done within these categories, but my own feeling is that to arrive at a somewhat deeper understanding of the sociology of music, we should begin with the musical product and end with social sources and background of music. Aside from the priority of the art object over the art producer or art consumer, there is an additional strategic advantage: namely, establishing a bona fide among those who know the music you are talking about, even though they may know little or no sociology.

The gap between the esoteric knowledge held by musicians and the exoteric belief held by listeners is exceptionally wide. Unlike the fields of politics, psychology and economics in which everyone fancies himself an expert, professional distance between musician and listener is easily established. In music, the notational system by which the creative process is expressed is so removed from the knowledge of ordinary listeners that communication between artist and audience, at the verbal level at least, is difficult and sometimes quite impossible. My starting point, then, is the product and the place where artist and audience interest meet most significantly—the market, the recording. The record is to the musician what the book is to the academic scholar. It is the focus of his musical energies, all directed toward making the recording different from all others, or at least different enough to be purchased. The musician measures success precisely in terms of the aesthetic worth of the product and the sales of that product to a non-musician audience, or at least an audience beyond his known circle of friends in the musical world.

The recording represents the transformation of an ephemeral idea into a copyrighted product; a musical moment into a durable commodity. Jazz, and especially rock, are both essentially twentieth century aesthetic concepts, but they emerge coincidentally with a market system that defies worth in terms of salability—specifically, the sale of the recording. The Jazz ambience has been less willing to accept this fact, and has therefore hesitated to fully exploit the medium through which the artist speaks to a wider audience. The rock subculture, being thoroughly fused with the recording as an expression of worth, has been more innovative; the use of electric guitars, Moog synthesizers, the use of amplifiers as musical instruments, and so forth, are all clearly pegged to the product as record. Thus what starts as an effort at bottling and selling the ephemeral idea, ends with the market product, the record, beginning to determine the musical structure, and the ephemeral idea itself.

The recording not only provides legitimacy to rock performers, by proving their worth in market terms, but also warrants their authenticity. Rock music listeners usually hear a group first on recordings; then, later on, they see the group in person. The recording provides the audience with a objective standard of measurement for determining whether the live performance is better than, the same as, or worse than the recorded performance. The live performance also enables the performing artist to advertise his new disc, or new album. Few performers fail to include an announcement to the effect that "the next number is from our new album on our very own label, and can be heard again if you like the live performance." In other words, the crucial item of exchange between artist and audience is clearly the recording, rather than, as it was 50 years ago, sheet music.

The recording is important to rock groups for other reasons as well. In their live performances, musicians are constantly involved in electronic processes. Though the music is reasonably, or as some may declare, unreasonably simplistic, the electronic apparatus they must learn to manipulate is quite complex. Because of this relative iso-morphism between rock music and technology, the impulse to define success in terms of the recording is not simply or even primarily a desire for wide communication with an amorphous audience, nor

IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ *is editor-in-chief of* Trans-action, *a social science monthly published by Rutgers University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is it a pecuniary drive unique to musicians; rather, it stems from realization that the gap between the engineering of sound and the creation of music has narrowed to a remarkable degree. For the first time, the gap between engineering and artistry has virtually closed. Thus, the legacy of dodecaphonic and electronic music has not been lost in classical experimentation, but has been absorbed, though largely unconsciously, in the rock tradition. The recording situation allows the musician maximum control in the manipulation of technology, and thus, in his artistic creation.

Finally, by starting with the recording, we can encompass the whole gamut of social actors in the music business: the recording company, the booking agents, the performing artists, the engineering and recording experts, publicists and propagandists and pushers of all sorts. For this reason, I will simply examine a series of recordings that illustrate the theme of this paper: the relationship of modern jazz to hard rock. The selection of recordings will not be exhaustive or exclusive; but rather representative and illustrative of major trends and tendencies. But first, let me review the background of jazz and of rock, and the similarities and discontinuities between the two.

There is a parallel between the history of societies and the history of their arts. Just as there is a historical continuity in science, there is also a historical continuity in the scientific-technical aspect of the arts (it was not mere chance that perspective became consolidated during the Renaissance—Europe was discovering the third dimension in painting).

While the sociologist studies the social, historical, economic and cultural events which account for the development of an intellectual and artistic movement such as the Renaissance, the musician can translate the manifestations of that movement into specific expressions: Humanism gives birth to tonal language, and ecclesiastic modes which lack the lyricism of the new language are rejected. The counterpoint extends its methods toward new horizons which are a part of that expression. Another example might be provided by the translation of Enlightenment absolutism into music in the form of the homophony of the classical period. Or the ideas of freedom in the French Revolution which are echoed in the chromatics and the gradual development from sonata form to the cyclical form of the Romantic movement.

Jazz also underwent, in the course of 80 year, the changes of a dynamic society, reflected in its schools and innovations. The jazz musician—black or white—gradually acquired a certain lucidity regarding the sound materials with which he was working. The mixture of rhythms and modes of African polyphony mingled with the tonal homophony of the European colonizers. The resulting synthesis was jazz, and the perception of musicians (who are always in the forefront of society regarding the apprehension of sound materials) became wider. What makes such an analysis difficult is the fact that jazz never existed in pure form (for example, Bix Beiderbecke "discovered" Debussy). The important thing is that musicians such as Thelonious Monk, Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie achieved results similar to those of Bartok and Stravinsky by way of instinct and the extension of tradition. Lennie Tristano and Ornette Coleman, on the other hand, opened the door to tonal dissolution. They were all the product of a complex period—from World War II until the present.

But this tonal dissolution involved, in extramusical terms, the dissolution of the musical audience. The deeper the music, the further removed jazz became from the dance tradition. Into this void of a music without audience, and a form without content, the rock musician emerged. At first clumsily, almost foolishly in the form of sexual exhibitionism and musical inanities—such as in the performances of Elvis Presley and Jerry Lee Lewis. Indeed, the Sha-Na-Na now make a living parodying such "music of the fifties." Yet, even in its early days, rock provided direct percussive expression to dance needs, and reestablished communion between

artist and audience without retreating to the absurd banalities of the fox trot, the Vienna waltz and the Virginia Reel.

The first stage in the development of rock was the sacrifice of musical complexity for the sake of capturing an audience; the second step was to solidify that audience by message music—by an appeal to the rising political consciousness of a generation no less than by an appeal to dance forms that were clearly generational in character. Only when both these stages were reached, did the third stage of musical innovation involving atonalities, electronics and art music became possible. It might well be that rock is doomed to replicate the cycle of jazz, with its attendant separation from the dance form and its ultimate loss of mass audience, but in the meantime a new art form has been born.

Although technical perfection remains an unfulfilled goal for the most part in rock music, there are notable successes. Among them are the rejection of complication for its own sake, the return to a more direct expression of emotions, and an attempt to move beyond a jazz scene

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thoroughly lacking in extramusical direction (with the possible exception of men like Archie Shepp and John Coltrane—although they have yet to generate a significant audience for their message) by introducing lyrics of political and personal significance.

More significantly, the history of every art form can be formulated as the following: Each new form of expression requires a new technology for its fulfillment. And here there is a complicated syndrome at work. For on the one hand, there is a powerful resentment for a technological idiocy that has brought mankind to the brink of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical warfare. On the other hand, the musical requisites of rock involve a remarkably advanced form of technology, the implications of which are only now being drawn. It is by no means true that hard rock represents a rejection of technology. In the larger societal situation, there is a demand on the part of many radical young people for simplicity, and a utopian longing for nature and mother earth, rather than society and grandfather pollution. But the rejection of these aspects of the larger society is radically different from the musical response. The rock scene is extraordinarily concerned with technological innovation.

A young sociologist, Paul M. Hirst, has recently taken note of this fact in an article entitled "The Economics of Rock" that appeared in *The Nation* in March 1970. His summary comment is quite appropriate to our discussion:

> The contribution of modern technology is important. All phases of rock music have become increasingly tied to technology, from concert staging and recording techniques to record retailing and audience management. Musicians and their audiences regard better amplifiers, microphones, tape recorders, film techniques, record packaging, outdoor festivals and speaker systems as a natural and desirable part of their environment. They assume, with accustomed indifference, that the gadgets they've grown up with are to be used when needed, and simply ignored when irrelevant. Most young people including "dropouts" and "dissenters," are neither alienated, as some have argued, by such signs of the age as television, moon shots and atomic weapons, nor are they particularly impressed. They seem only "natural" to a generation which has always known them. While this attitude is now starting to be challenged by a growing concern for our environment, it is still too early to pronounce today's vanguard youth seriously hostile to modern gadgetry. Persuasive evidence that we are still far from a wholesale "back to nature" movement is the overwhelming poularity of rock and roll, and all the technology it encompasses.

The importance of this youth ambivalence to technology can hardly be overestimated. It points up their dialectical attitudes toward technology, not simply a foolish concern on the part of the young for a return to musical primitivism or sectional chauvinism.

The jazz musicians, especially the followers of Gillespie and Monk, are most resistant to technological invention. Some musicians like Freddie Hubbard and Ornette Coleman have openly stated their opposition to electronic music. In fact, they tend to think that any device not to be found in a nineteenth century symphony orchestra is by definition not a musical instrument. However, it is not primarily at the technological level that objections are registered, but rather at the sociological level. The new electronic phase upsets the existing professional status arrangements. It introduces new personnel and makes new demands on established performers. Only the recent herculean efforts of Miles Davis, that ever-inventive figure, have moved beyond this technological Ludditism; and interestingly, as the composition of his new group shows, beyond racial exclusivism as well.

With respect to the tonal dissolution that jazz is said to have exhibited, my own feeling is that this is more myth than reality. The jazz musician has tended to use shifting tonal centers rather than to move toward the kind of tonal dissolution advocated by Berg or Schoenberg. In this connection, I would say that many rock musicians have done much the same kind of things as their jazz predecessors. They have not worried about formal invention as much as they should have. But this may be because musicians in active creation rarely concern themselves with their place in the history of modern popular music.

The problem here is not one of integrity but of musicality. The rock musician is concerned about the dance elements in his output—that is, the relationship between sound and movement. I have the distinct impression that the modern jazz musician has come to envision himself very much like a chamber ensemble. This is reflected in the behavior of the Modern Jazz Quartet and in the Charles Mingus quintet, who often make outrageous demands of silence on the audience. One must wonder whether these men feel that they are something other than the Budapest String Quartet. The jazz musician has come to expect a non-emotional response to emotion; which in some sense is precisely what the rock culture is in rebellion against. The jazz generation has now itself become the older generation. It has done so inadvertently by absorbing the general culture (and the genteel values) of classical music, with its fixed separation of artist and audience.

Music expresses its times and its anxieties. But certain expressions of these anxieties are more effective and others less effective. The anomaly, the contradiction, of an all-black group like that run by Archie Schepp or John Handy is that they are listened to by a largely white audience. This certainly lends a note of doubt to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the belief that theirs is an effective form of black protest. It more likely alleviates white guilt. In this sense, the rock scene, being generational rather then racial, suffers less from the kind of black-white contradiction that has plagued jazz from its inception. For even though rock music is a white music, it makes no affirmation of being white, nor does it even covertly affirm supremacist tendencies that were prevalent in previous white sounds from Paul Whiteman in the twenties to Elvis Presley in the fifties. The best rock musicians have been unabashed in their praise of the black traditions of their craft, and unashamed to express such continuities in musical terms. This makes it possible for rock to achieve an intellectual integrity, and perhaps ultimately a synthesis, that has always been one giant step beyond the nonideological and undisturbed jazz musician.

No more than a decade ago, recordings were being made for "square" audiences who loved the classics and hated jazz. It is a sign of new generational fissures that the jazz audience has moved over into the camp of the squares, seeking comfort and solace in its "art" music over and above "pop" music. The tradition of the new, it seems, must always be less than welcomed by participants and advocates of established cultural traditions. This only proves that staying young beyond one's chronology is a complex and often painful undertaking and that those who even make the attempt subject themselves to criticism if not downright ridicule. As Marty Balin and Paul Kanter of the Jefferson Airplane explain: "One generation got old/One generation got soul."

SPECIES AMERICANA

THE SCREEN

The tribal aspirations of the middle-class American male are reflected in the way he spends his money, not the way he earns it. As writer-director of *Husbands,* John Cassavetes therefore sends his three heroes—Archie (Peter Falk), Harry (Ben Gazzara) and Gus (Cassavetes himself)—off on a toot. In less than a week, these three men recapitulate the rise of the American middle classes as if it were our national phylogeny. Their spree is undertaken as a memorial to a fourth friend and fellow Port Washingtonian (L.I.) who's died unexpectedly. They must have all the fun that his life has now missed out on.

From his funeral they go into New York, where they replay the games of their youth and revive lower-middle-class debaucheries. Then they go to London to initiate themselves in the new games of their fancy and the debaucheries of their upper-middle-class dreams. When their sentimental journey is over, they've gone from shooting baskets at an Al Roon Health Club to shooting craps at an exclusive casino. They've stood rounds for the house and sung all the oldies in a cheap saloon. They've picked up elegant hookers in evening clothes. They've vomited together in a dirty men's room, and they've shacked up separately in a posh hotel.

But most important of all, they've put Port Washington in its place: they've made it a brief layover between the immigrant city of New York and the aristocratic city of London. During the whole binge, only one morning is spent at their homes and their jobs. They've proven that a commuter town like Port Washington isn't the last stop on the gravy train. It's only a whistle stop halfway between rags and riches. The three men have fulfilled the manifest destiny of all Americans, which is to keep moving up. They've reaffirmed the self-evident truth: social mobility.

Although *Husbands* is better than Cassavetes' 1968 film, *Faces,* it is an artistic feat of the same kind. He has again done extraordinary things with the most ordinary characters and actors imaginable. Archie, Harry and Gus don't have the wherewithal to understand why they've done what they have. They're uncomplicated men who've lived unexamined lives. Their actions are truly a phylogenic reflex. But while Cassavetes hasn't inflated their sensibilities, he hasn't made fools out of them either. The comedy of his film is warm-blooded. His camera has fondled his middle-class characters with tight close-ups, as it did in *Faces.*

This kindheartedness is a bit hard to figure, for when he's away from his camera Cassavetes does his best to convince us he's a nasty man. The people he makes films about are the same people who go to see his films. Yet in his interviews he makes it clear he only has contempt for them as an audience. Perhaps he assumes this attitude to conceal his rather old-fashioned aesthetic principles. He seems to be the kind of artist who believes you can't satirize people you don't really love. On the other hand, though, his surliness may be just the self-defensive reaction of a genuine eccentric. I can't think of any emotion more eccentric and vulnerable these days than compassion for the middle classes.

* * *

Robert Altman's last film, *M*A*S*H,* was also about a kind of regular joe: Joe College. At heart the young surgeons in *M*A*S*H* are just a bunch of frat-club pranksters. Altman managed to make these anachronistic young men appealing by plunking them down in the middle of a senseless war, and yet leaving their personalities intact. They're impervious to the Korean War, as they are to the individual humanity of their patients, because they must be in order to keep their sanity. Like the profession of the characters, the comedy in the film is surgical. It's dispassionate, incisive and caustic. *M*A*S*H* was a popular film because it found a loop-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hole in the *Catch-22* of our own consciences: it provided an hour of hysterical relief to a society groaning with guilt over its current Asian atrocity.

In *Brewster McCloud,* there are no personalities in which we can take such interest. In fact the characters in Altman's new film aren't even people. The principals, Brewster (Bud Cort) and his guardian Louise (Sally Kellerman), are birds. That is, Brewster wants to be a bird, and Louise used to be one. Judging from the scars on her back, Louise has been the victim of *M*A*S*H*-style double alatomy. Unable to fly any longer herself, she's now taken Brewster under her clipped wing. She's got him secluded in a room under the Houston Astrodome where he's building his own wings. He leaves only to collect supplies, and she watches over him like a mother hen, murdering anyone who gets in his way with the aid of her pet raven.

The reason that this cuckoo scenario appealed to Altman is instructive. He had been looking, he's said, for material that contained a symbol comparable to the blood in *M*A*S*H*. Doran William Canon's script for *Brewster McCloud* had such a symbol: bird shit. Of course the human element of the story isn't taken into consideration by Altman's criterion. Nor has he done much to humanize the story in transferring it to the screen. Louise remains inscrutable to the end, and Brewster remains vacuous. Altman has his symbol all right, but it doesn't stand for anything intelligible, and neither do his characters. There's a classroom lecture on ornithology that, although it's irrelevant to the plot, is interspliced throughout the film. And like the lecture, the film itself turns into an academic exercise in comedy. Altman's subject, if he has one, is *specious Americana,* but his film is for the birds. COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

Who Mans the Protest Against Pollution?

. . . THE STEELWORKERS of Donora, Pennsylvania, or Gary, Indiana, haven't breathed fresh air in their lives—nor their fathers before them. The poor have always been accustomed to trash and rubbish everywhere they walk—any municipal schedule of trash collections is designed to favor middle- and upper-income neighborhoods. Pushers, enforcers, extortionists and others of these lesser breeds without the law have always roamed the low-income neighborhoods.

The truth behind the growing concern about environment is that the tax-conscious middle-class, freed from slums but not yet free to spend the season at Sun Valley or in the Caribbean, are now finding *their* neighborhoods full of traffic, dirt, smog, airplane noise, and that the pusher is not a furtive figure downtown but instead is their neighbor's shaggy-haired son. The New Deal was generated by middle-class economic distress, and the current emphasis on an improved environment is similarly bred . . .

—Wes Barthelmes
COMMONWEAL, February 20, 1970

For perceptive comment on issues of the day read COMMONWEAL. A trial subscription will save you more than half the single copy price.

17 Issues for $3

For New Subscribers Only

COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

Please send the next 17 issues to:

Name

Address

City, State, Zip

2/12/71

☐ I prefer a full year for $12.

JOHN FANDEL

BLACK SQUIRREL

Out for a walk, after the heavy rain
had kept me indoors half the livelong day,
I saw part of the rainsoaked dogwood stir
as if it might leaf in my sunstarved eyes.
Just a squirrel, black as the rainblack bole,
a twitch out of the line of the barren tree
to be a self against the rainwashed sky,
a furry infinitive of *I am.*
He stopped me, the man I am;
and I stopped him: he froze.
So we stayed facing.
Man is meant, perhaps, for greater encounters.
And yet I would not say
it was a total loss
to look at a black squirrel
or to be looked at by one.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKNOTES: *These, These Our Players*

NORA L. MAGID

In a world where the good periodical is likely to bite the dust, *Photoplay* lives, flourishes, is close to sixty years old, has a stated circulation of well over a million, and conducts what passes for its research at the White House. Tricia Nixon, weighed against Princess Anne, is found wanting; Julie Eisenhower is too preoccupied for motherhood; Jackie O is disqualified for burial in Arlington. " 'She can,' " it says here, " 'buy her way into or out of everything, but this is one matter that can't be manipulated by wealth. . . . Since we can't find out how Jackie feels on this subject,' " we shall guess, and so on.

Conjecture, assumption, accusation and attribution were also big in the thirties, but in that once upon a time the movie magazine was about movie stars. The titles in Martin Levin's sampler indicate the drift: Why I Stay Married, Why Did I Slip? What About Clark Gable Now? Why Fifth Avenue Laughs at Hollywood Society. All this is couched in special vocabulary, bathed in sentimentality, and embellished with blowsy cradle-to-grave metaphors: dancing is the urge of Terpsichore, acting is higher histrionics, working is earning one's sarouks and sables, fame is the vaulted and resplendent cathedral, and death the last and greatest curtain call. Rather than speak, actors exclaim, reflect, confide, and in its secret heart it hurts. The reader, young, dumb and female, is directly addressed: "Myrna Loy was, ostensibly, talking to me. . . . Yes, Myrna seemed to be talking to me. Actually, she was talking to you, Mary, to you, Sue, to all of you little Marys and Sues and Sarahs who wish you could be movie stars, who see them through rainbow-colored glasses—immune from the pains and problems of the workaday world." Mary, Sue, Sarah et al., often the recipients of open letters, are also encouraged to contribute: "Write in 200 words or less your opinion of Joan Crawford, telling frankly in your own language just what you think of Joan's personality, and her pictures, suggesting if you wish ways in which she may improve her screen work." Participatory democracy, if you will, the secret of the charm of the movie magazine, and one of the better points made in I. C. Jarvie's book—qv later—that stardom is somehow egalitarian. There are also attempts, particularly during the Depression, at justification by extravagance. Constance Bennett "spends only what is necessary to maintain her position as a star." Wallace Beery "earns what he is getting." Tom Mix—"what his annual property taxes amount to, Allah only knows"—is right to allot $7200 p.a. for horse and mule maintenance, and $18,000 for combined salaries for thirteen employees. Movie stars "spend freely to the general betterment of business. There is not a hoarder or a radical in the whole lot."

Since the individual items in Levin's book are undated and follow no chronology, unfair and confusing juxtapositions result. Events made to succeed one another may be years apart. The book, which should have been gorgeous, is shoddily printed, and the stills in the originals at ten cents a throw were clearer than those here at ten bucks. The principle of selection—Levin calls it prebrowsed—defies analysis. These are not the silliest, not the saddest, not the most engrossing, not the most preposterous, nor the most representative movie magazine articles; and somehow, out of context and laid end to end in this way they gain relentlessly in density; and the mix of guileless romanticizing, grub fact and/or speculation with studio concocted blarney gets lost.

Actors are curious chaps. For one thing, they must, as the books under consideration indicate, be visible to exist. Ralph Richardson has said that his idea of a star is "a lady who fills me with hope and joy, Miss Ethel Merman. . . . I have a drink or two, I write to Miss Merman. And the next morning I always tear up the letter." What is for sale is amorphous and it is of peculiar and intimate value to the consumer, though not all consumers are as tactful as Sir Ralph. For another thing, performers have a tendency to know the product. Robert Mitchum, for instance, has said, "I don't think I'd miss the movies. Most of them stink. And for my part, stardom is meaningless. For God's sake, Rin Tin Tin was a star."

Two actresses in their autobiographies attempt to define the experience, and since there are enough parallels to indicate a possible pattern, each is interesting in relation to the other. Both having been warned not to go to Hollywood left the stage to do so. Both have

(Continued on page 476)

Hollywood and the Great Fan Magazines
MARTIN LEVIN, EDIT.
Arbor House, $10

The Bennett Playbill
JOAN BENNETT & LOIS KIBBEE
Holt, Rinehart, $6.95

"Don't Fall Off the Mountain"
SHIRLEY MacLAINE
Norton, $5.95

Fergus
BRIAN MOORE
Holt, Rinehart, $5.95

Additional Dialogue: Letters of Dalton Trumbo, 1942-1962
HELEN MANFULL, EDIT.
Evans, $12.50

Movies and Society
I. C. JARVIE
Basic Books, $10

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Agriculture, like politics, is not an exact science, even in Cuba

Cuba est-il socialiste?
RENE DUMONT
Editions du Seuil, F. $2.25

Guerrillas in Power: The Course of the Cuban Revolution
K. S. KAROL
Hill and Wang, $12.50

JORDAN BISHOP

"What they don't seem to understand, is that in agriculture two plus two sometimes makes three." The French technician was complaining about some things done in the name of agriculture in Cuba. It might seem to be a good idea to someone in an office in Havana to plant twice as many coffee trees, but unless there are people to take care of them and the ground is right and luck is with you, you may not get twice as much coffee. In some cases two and two might make one and a half. Agriculture is not an exact science, even in Cuba.

René Dumont, returning to the sharp critique of Cuban agriculture and of Cuban socialism that he first broached in 1964 in *Cuba: socialisme et développement* (*Cuba: Socialism and Development*, Grove Press, 1970), is a convinced socialist and a long-term friend of Fidel Castro.

He is also an expert in the problems of tropical agriculture, and tropical agriculture, in virtue of a deliberate option, is the basic industry of Fidel's Cuba. The option has been defended by Fidel in terms of the real possibilities of the Cuban economy: at this moment at least, agriculture is what Cuba is best equipped to do, and René Dumont is in full agreement with this basic option. Nevertheless, the option is a difficult and a courageous one. There is hardly a country in the world that does not have serious problems, of one kind or another, in agriculture. California's agribusiness is highly productive and efficient, yet is apparently unable to support union labor, and at this writing César Chávez is under indictment for his efforts to unionize California lettuce-pickers. At the same time, ecologists are beginning to question some of the technical advances that have made the agriculture revolution possible. Dumont himself is aware of the problem: speaking of bananas in Cuba he remarks that "imported pesticides are very costly, and can destroy certain useful biological equilibria."

Neither Fidel nor his advisors have any doubts as to the desirability of a fully modern, scientific agriculture, as fully mechanized as possible and employing the latest contributions of the German chemical industry. Agriculture is to be big, well-organized and scientific. In theory, and for most crops, this is probably the best option, although Dumont complains that it is over-centralized, too aprioristic, and in its present policies, unable to take advantage of traditional "peasant wisdom," which incorporates considerable concrete experience along with some rule-of-thumb maxims which may be "unscientific."

Contrary to the consistent advice of Dumont and subtle hints from Soviet experts, the Cuban agricultural revolution rejected peasant cooperatives in favor of large-scale state farms. Dumont contends that the "level of revolutionary consciousness" is simply not high enough to sustain motivation and responsibility within this type of organization. It is true that in the case of the cane workers a "peasant culture" did not exist. This was not the case with tobacco, and the quality of Cuban tobacco culture has suffered somewhat as a result, in part due to uniform price scales imposed from above.

The centralized control of agriculture has made responsible participation at local levels almost impossible, and errors, when these occur, tend to be big ones. Dumont cites several cases (bananas, cane) where orders came from above for planting in poorly drained ground. The average peasant knew it wouldn't work, and said so, but orders are orders. Predictably the crop failed—and damage to the morale of men ordered to do stupid things by bureaucrats is perhaps greater than the economic loss involved.

In other cases options are taken which involve large areas of land without sufficient pilot projects or experimentation over smaller areas. One example cited is the fencing of grazing plots for cattle. The employment of temporary electric fencing until such time as the feasibility of the plan was demonstrated was rejected in favor of permanent fencing with cement posts. Given the scarcity of resources, cheaper electric fencing might have been advisable in any event, with a plan which envisions the eventual installation of some 35,000 miles of fencing. In addition to the high costs of such installation, Dumont raises some serious technical difficulties in the plan itself. Even with really competent planning, the extension of what is in effect an experimental project to large areas once a decision is made from above raises serious problems. Unfortunately, questions of detail better left to local decision are often determined from above, local decisions based on concrete knowledge are overruled, and real competence is not always employed. "In 1965, Castro proclaimed that a non-competent revolutionary was preferable to a non-revolutionary competence. The decision has serious consequences: 'Ché' had frequently said exactly the contrary, since he thought himself better able to evaluate competence than the degree of revolutionary commitment."

In theory, large exploitations should be more efficient, at least for some crops. Nevertheless, any advantages obtained by central planning is lost when,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as happened in Las Villas in 1963, the plan for the year in progress didn't get to the state farms until November.

Here in a sense the problem transcends the technical dimension and becomes a problem of political style, of "participation," a word which according to Dumont has become less popular in Cuba with the passage of time. The ideal of a socialist society has become that of an authoritarian, hierarchized society in which the army and military organization become increasingly important. Dumont, writing at the end of 1969, sees a definite trend in all this; the last of the four periods of Cuban socialism described in this book is "the hard reality of a military society."

One might hope that the failure, in terms of announced goals, of the 1970 sugar harvest, might bring some reassessment of this trend. In his July 26th speech in 1970, Fidel does speak of the need for greater participation: "Why should a manager have to be absolutely in charge? Why shouldn't we begin to introduce representatives of the factory's workers into its management? Why not have confidence? Why not put our trust in that tremendous proletarian spirit of men who, at times in torn shoes and clothes, nevertheless keep up production?"

Yet it is the same Fidel, in the same speech, who says the following:

> In the past, all a citizen expected from the state was that it build post offices or telegraph stations. He didn't dream of the state's solving his housing problems or any of his other problems. Today the citizen feels that the state should solve the problems. And he is right. This is a really collective mentality, a socialist mentality. Today everything is expected from the administrative apparatus, and especially from the political apparatus that represents it. Today it is not possible to depend on individual effort and means, as was the case in the past. The fact that today the people expect everything is in keeping with the socialist awareness the revolution has created in the people.

In the face of the admitted failure of the present apparatus, the proposed solution is to create more: "We must create a political structure to coordinate the different sectors of social production." Hopefully, in view of this statement and of others in Fidel's September 10, 1970 discourse, such a political structure will be more sensitive to grassroots initiatives.

Part of the problem lies in the style created by Fidel himself. He works hard, takes a genuine interest in the problems of Cuba today, and his integrity is unquestioned. Yet he is often unwilling, in projects in which he is personally interested, to leave details to the decision of subordinates, and many of these have learned that he is not to be contradicted. *De minimis non curat praetor*—the Roman axiom (cited by Dumont in Latin), is frequently violated by Fidel himself. There is also a marked tendency to consider projects as achievements, and people get tired of unfulfilled promises.

> Ultimately, Fidel Castro has confidence only in himself, and he is unable to delegate full responsibility. He remains the one leader; it is essential, in his estimation, that he see everything, rectify everything. Indeed, he is the universal moving spirit of Cuba, his goals quicken people to make an effort, and his speeches arouse a degree of enthusiasm still, especially among his most faithful followers, the sugarcane workers (translation from *Dissent*, Sept. 1970).

With respect to the critical area of educational policy, Dumont, also the author of *False Start in Africa*, seems insufficiently critical. Speaking of the period of "central planning and bureaucracy," he mentions that "during this time, the rural exodus accelerated: every peasant's son, even those with little instruction, wants to come to work in the city. It is still much less hard and much better paid than cutting cane in the sun." The fact that school attendance has been brusquely raised is for Dumont "a sure guarantee for the country of a better future." Yet for a country which has deliberately chosen to make agriculture its basic industry, the prestige occupations accessible through school look strangely like those of other socialist and even capitalist countries. Heroic cane-cutters get medals, but their children study to become artists, engineers, professional men; and the schools only too often appear as ways to join the rural exodus rather than a dignified upgrading of rural life. Those engaged at the lowest level of the primary industry of the country still appear to enjoy the lowest status in Cuban society, if not in official rhetoric, at least in the structures of Cuba's educational system.

After a visit to Cuba early in 1969, John Horgan wrote in *The Irish Times* that everything, good and bad, that one reads about Cuba is probably true. Selective citation of René Dumont's latest book could easily be used as anti-Cuban propaganda, and the same is true of K. S. Karol's exciting contribution to the literature on Cuba. The excellent chapter on the old Communist Party gives some insights not usually found in writing about the Cuban revolution, although some questions remain unanswered. Dumont mentions that "as late as 1963, the black flag was still raised in Cuba." One wonders if the early ascendance of the old Communist elements, whose opposition to agricultural collectives in Spain during the civil war is well-documented, did not influence the decision against autonomous agricultural cooperatives; Karol tells us nothing about Cuban anarchists and their role, if any, in the dynamics of the Cuban revolution—were it not for Dumont's remark this reviewer would not raise the question.

In view of press distortions in the United States at the time, one point in the history of the rebellion is particularly important. After the overthrow of Machado in 1933, "lynchings and attacks on policemen and politicians continued for several days, and not in Havana alone." "Fidel Castro was extremely anxious to ensure that the same spirit did not come to the fore after his own victory, and to that end he immediately inaugurated legal procedures which, while brief and to the point, pre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vented summary executions and provided suspects with a number of safeguards." He was successful in that no one fell victim to the kind of excesses seen in 1933, in spite of the fact that Batista's police had been much more savage than had Machado's.

Karol provides an excellent picture of the difficulties involved in the development of Cuba, which for historical and geographical reasons was the most thoroughly colonized of the Latin American countries. For the Russians "Cuba was an economic embarrassment: the Soviet Union had underwritten the development of a country whose tastes, needs and economic structure had been molded by the Americans. Cuba was to be a showcase of Soviet efficiency in Latin America, when in fact it was the last country in the world to make good use of Soviet foreign aid." "Economically speaking, Cuba had been part and parcel of the United States, and having cut that tie, the island was forced to graft herself onto a bloc which, apart from being totally different, was already afflicted with its own specific illnesses. The operation would at best have caused a great deal of pain . . . ." Part of the problem was quite simply technical: "The international port of Cuba had been New Orleans"; and when the Cubans began the importation of large quantities of cooking oil from China, there were no port facilities for storage.

The revolutionary ardor of Cuba was also something of an embarrassment to Khrushchev, who in the face of increasing domestic problems, was more interested in peaceful coexistence than in revolution. "The Cuban Revolution had shown that the United States was extremely vulnerable in Latin America —which was of course the reason for American hatred of Castro." The missile crisis of 1962 represents, for Karol, a cynical use of the Cubans by Khrushchev for his own ends:

"The more one learns about the missile crisis of 1962, the clearer it becomes that Khrushchev lied to everybody. First of all, he lied to Castro (as Castro and his followers understand it), emphasizing the need to strengthen international socialism against U.S. invasion and to foster revolutions throughout Latin America—when in fact no U.S. invasion was being planned and when Khrushchev had not the least intention of supporting social uprisings in the Third World."

The deemphasizing of revolutionary commitments after the death of Ché Guevara and the return of Cuba to Soviet orthodoxy in 1969 are due in part to a realistic appraisal of the international scene, in part to economic necessity, and to the determination to tackle the economic problems first. The net result is that Cuba is less of a threat to the United States' empire in Latin America:

> The new Nixon administration hardly bothered to hide its delight that the exuberant Cubans should have rallied to "wise old Russia." It noted with satisfaction the absence of references to the Latin American guerrilla movement from Fidel's speeches, in January, 1969, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution, and concluded that the door must be left open for a possible resumption of diplomatic relations.

On the whole, Karol's well-researched work supports Dumont's critique of the progress of the Cuban revolution. "Socialism has no chance of success unless, in the very fire of action, at the very point of social explosion, a move is made toward the solution of the delicate problem of the relationship between the masses and the political leadership. Now the search for this solution was never part of the Castroist scheme." Like Dumont, he is dismayed by the present trend toward the militarization of Cuban society, and with Dumont, refuses to write Cuba off as a failure in spite of present difficulties. The work is a must for those interested in the internal history of the Cuban revolution and its relationship with the Soviet Union.

One should perhaps end with a word of caution with respect to the critique of Dumont and other technical experts, socialist or capitalist. Cuba is not the only place where experts from highly efficient, technological societies are frustrated. Cuba is, to be sure, consciously engaged in construction of a modern, technological and socialist society; and while it is still the most "Americanized" of Latin American societies, it is still very much a Latin American culture, with values that may be lacking in our "developed" societies. They try hard—perhaps too hard at times, in terms of Dumont's criticism of the haste with which much of the "modernization" is undertaken—but in some respects it is still a happy revolution. This is perhaps one of its deepest contradictions in the face of the austerity demanded by modernization. In their eagerness to show capitalist societies that they can do it too, they may sacrifice some of the real values of their own tradition. Socialism, as Karol remarks, cannot be exported; if Cuba is to build a socialist society, they must do it the Cuban way.

When the Minister Is a Woman

ELSIE GIBSON

Holt, Rinehart, $4.95

ARLENE SWIDLER

It seems almost impossible to approach a book like this these days without considering it *sub specie* Women's Liberation. The Reverend Mrs. Gibson, however, has not written that sort of book at all. In fact, the quotations and summaries from the 270 ordained women whose reports went into the making of this book are surprisingly mild and—especially to someone like myself who knows a good number of ordained women, including a handful of those listed in this volume—decidedly understated on the issue of male chauvinism.

At this point it's a fairly obvious truth—and one greatly resented by many theologians—that the question of the ordination of women in our more conservative churches is finally assuming at least a small importance primarily because of the ecumenical implications. Just within the past few months the daily press has carried stories on discussions of female ordination within both the Lutheran churches and later the Episcopal church in this country in which the ecumenical repercussions

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were considered to be strong arguments.

On the other hand Catholics urging the ordination of women have been hitting strongly on the theological level while tending to underestimate the sociological problems. And for some strange reason Christians in dialogue seem much more willing to borrow one another's theological insights than their sociological conclusions. So it seems quite likely that a book with sociological implications such as this will be neglected by Catholics despite its ecumenical relevance.

The book includes a chapter on the ministry of women in the past and another on the future of Orders, but its core is a study of how a female ministry works out in practice. Its assumptions may bother some feminists: there is such a vocation as "minister's wife"; women should sometimes be ordained to assist their ordained husbands; one can be a professional without being paid. Underneath these lies the good old idea of ministry as service.

Not surprisingly, the reader will discover here a variety as broad as humanity—some pious ladies; some sophisticated women. Many felt the call from their youth; others came in adulthood from other vocations. Some deliberately remain single; others combine church career and marriage; still others enter orders after the death of their minister-husbands. All function effectively. No thesis here, no surprises, unless in some quarters there is still needed assurance that the ladies are not organizing into a militant bloc with karate training to smite down church doors and grab episcopal mitres.

Yet the quiet pervasive emphasis on God's work, not man's (or woman's) status, issues in some broader questions. If a woman can combine a career as minister with a career as homemaker, why not a part-time—or tent-maker—ministry for men? There follows the question of whether clergy should be "set apart" at all. And then of course Mrs. Gibson poses the ultimate question, not whether we should do away with Orders, but whether all committed Christians ought not to be fit subjects for ordination.

The Emperor's Sword

NOEL F. BUSCH

Funk & Wagnalls, $5.95

DAVID CORT

A great historical event is certainly difficult to describe. It is generally a climax and catalyst of massive changes not clearly seen until that moment, and these are integral to it. The naval battle of Tsushima in 1905 between Japan and Russia was clearly such an event. Historians of the early 20th century were shocked, but not much impressed, by the battle, considering a land battle at Nanshan much more historic. The mighty shadow that Tsushima casts over the century's history must now be evident to everybody, and Noel Busch brilliantly defines it.

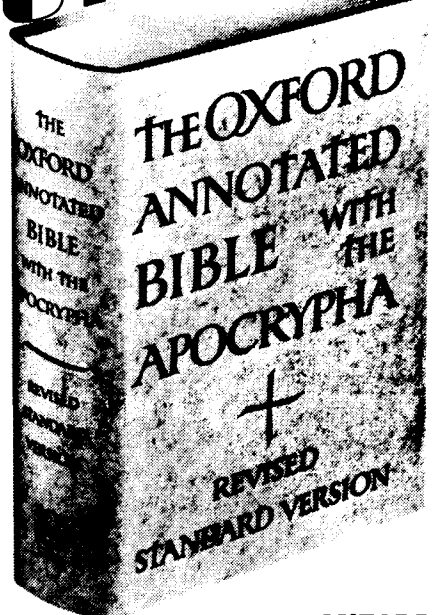
It was of course a conflict between aristocratic societies. The Russian was spoiled, conceited and incompetent. The Japanese was disciplined in courage, endurance, loyalty, and ferociously competitive. Both societies were essentially in training for Tsushima, and both were conditioned by Tsushima, Mr. Busch introduces the event, obligatorily, with the evolution of the two morales, making the story a morality play.

The Japanese virtues are not in high style just now, or so one hears. But they have usually determined the course of human events. The fainéant poseurs are swept aside; the true believer holds the field.

This is Busch's third book about Japan. He has a detached style of dry cool irony, as in saying that Japan's backwardness came from "the geographical handicap of being so far away from Europe" and "the progress made by Europe during the period of Japan's isolation had perhaps been less prodigious than many Western observers are inclined to suppose."

Busch's style is not that of the jacket blurb which claims Tsushima as "history's greatest sea battle, measured either in ships sunk or in future consequences." Salamis and Lepanto come to mind. And what in fact were the

Unsurpassed for personal and student use



The only Bible of its kind, this Oxford edition of the Revised Standard Version is acclaimed by laymen and scholars alike for its invaluable reference features and practical format.

Page-by-page annotations and notes clarify the more difficult passages; introductions to each book and to major divisions supply essential background; study helps include useful articles about the Bible and its setting, as well as 28 pages of full-color New Oxford Bible Maps with Index. 1,938 pages, 5¾ x 8⅝"

Imprimatur: RICHARD CARDINAL CUSHING

Cloth. Printed jacket. 08800A. $11.50

At your bookseller

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS/New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

consequences? Ultimately, Pearl Harbor, the destruction of the Japanese armed forces, and the rise of Communist China rotated into position as the far more dangerous threat to Asiatic Russia. To the U.S. this must seem a more agreeable situation than that of 1941, though the story has not ended.

Tsushima contributed to one great consequence, the Russian Revolution of 1917, but the immediate cause was the German Army of 1917. Even the 1905 uprisings, Father Gapon's march on the imperial palace, and the "Bloody Sunday" massacre preceded Tsushima by four months. However, the Japanese enthusiastically endorsed Russian revolution. Through their Colonel Akashi, based in Stockholm, they subsidized Lenin in this threadbare period and underwrote Lenin's new journal *Vperyed* (*Forward*) in 1905.

Tsushima was primarily a signal that Asiatics could be quite as competent as Westerners in the most sophisticated techniques of the West, if the West is willing to share its techniques, as it always has been. The Japanese ships at Tsushima were very largely, though not entirely, Western-built. The Christian West has never reserved its superiorities as monopolies, and deserves some credit for its magnanimity or foolishness.

Busch perhaps overemphasizes the disaffection and incompetence of the Russian crews, for the Russians scored plenty of hits on the Japanese ships. On the other hand, the total patriotic cohesion of the Japanese officers and men is entirely convincing.

The Japanese admiral, Togo, was an aristocrat of the southern province of Satsuma (whose lord's flag is now the flag of Japan); the Russian admiral, Rozhdestvensky, was not an aristocrat but was one of the few able officers in the Russian Navy after the death of Makkarov.

The battle was simply another battle, a brutal gamble for all the marbles. Battle stories, when told as well as this one, are exciting, and will probably never be dropped from the teaching of history. Without them, history can hardly be taught; furthermore, they teach that conflict is built into all human life. And this lesson can only be taught in the history class.

Even though 64 years have passed since the battle, Mr. Busch searched out a full score of living Japanese who manned the ships that day. (The Russian survivors are less fully reported, and none at first hand.) His book is in a way a tribute to Bushido, the Japanese equivalent of chivalry.

He is definitely but discreetly pro-Japanese. Once Japan was the enemy, but there are blacker scoundrels abroad today, and the time must have come to examine this former enemy with respect and affection. *The Emperor's Sword* makes this easy. But it is not true that the author plans to change his name to Noel Bushido.

FOR THE SPRING TERM

CLASSROOM ORDERS, 10 or more copies for any number of weeks to one address, 20c a copy. Free copy added for instructor or distributor on request.

INDIVIDUAL STUDENT subscriptions: one year, $7; eight months, $5; six months, $3.50.

COMMONWEAL, Circulation Department, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

BOOKNOTES

(Continued from page 471)

or have had acting siblings, which fact gave rise to speculation, denied in both cases, about feuds. Both deplore the company they have had to keep—people who were shallow, trivial and self-absorbed. Both have been associated with liberal political causes. Both have in their time tangled with columnists and have fought back. Joan Bennett once dispatched a descented skunk to Hedda Hopper; Shirley MacLaine once hauled off and socked Mike Connelly. And both books have large sections which to my mind are less compelling than the Hollywood portions. Miss Bennett writes somewhat interminably on her family's long theatrical history, and Miss MacLaine on her travel adventures. Ironically, there is something unreal about her quest, and her mockery and earnestness collide in such passages as—she is quoting herself—"well, 'I'm not really a Buddhist; not yet anyway. I mean I think Nirvana would be very nice, but that's difficult to attain in Hollywood. I do think the Buddhist philosophy of never hurting your neighbor is more realistic than loving him.'"

Miss Bennett, besides sharing the family history which is useful reference material but which sounds canned, counts up for her own parents, sisters and self, who come on like the cast of *Hayfever*, 14 marriages and 11 divorces. Having migrated from Broadway to the sound stage at a time when the conversion from silents was just about complete, she has been familiar with Hollywood from its early period, and she describes it affectionately: "When I first knew it, the film industry held a combination of nuts, genuine talents, charlatans and authentic geniuses, all of whom were still in the process of learning, bumbling and creating with a fury and innocence that outstripped any other period in its history. The colorful types, like Sid Grauman, Goldwyn, Schenck, Mayer and Zukor had a passionate love for the business, not just for the money to be made, and many of them I remember as people of taste and sensitivity." Yet out of 70 films she made she liked perhaps six; her sister, Constance, liked five out of her own 55.

Miss Bennett admits that though she has often defended Hollywood, many of its people struck her as limited and the power of the press, with its accent on minutiae, never ceased to amaze her. When scandal hit, her career was maimed; problems in glass houses being magnified, she was in effect blacklisted, while the producers rallied around her husband. As for the public, it takes "for gospel what it reads, when in reality much of it is only grubby gossip or fan magazine hokum." (The present movie magazine *is* grubby, with a sick in the head flavor. Where have all the flowers gone? Migrated, of course, al-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beit in slicker, classier bouquets, to the entertainment section of the Sunday *Times*, which suggests that the appeal of this kind of coverage is so fundamental that it will never vanish. As Shirley MacLaine says, "so much of an actor's life is played out in the newspapers.")

Unlike Miss Bennett, Miss MacLaine comes from a conventional small town Southern Baptist family (Warren Beatty is her brother), and like Miss Bennett she has kept her sense of proportion. She recalls one of her first jobs: the small lifetime of hard work, the iron discipline of ballet, the money poured into the lessons, "the grueling schedule I'd kept—and here all I'd had to do was put on a pair of mesh tights and stand up." After her sensational and accidental debut in *Pajama Game*, a producer said to her "the words every young American female supposedly longs to hear. 'Miss MacLaine,' he said, 'my name is Hal Wallis, and I'm prepared to offer you a movie contract. In Hollywood.' 'Aren't you,' she asked, 'the one who makes all those movies with Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis?' 'Yes,' he said, 'I discovered them, too.' 'Too?' 'Yes, I just discovered you. I was in the audience tonight.' "

Her book is particularly engrossing because Shirley MacLaine sets up scenes and uses dialogue like those in a Shirley MacLaine movie, because of the details on what makes for vocation (naiveté, training, masochistic humor), and on the mechanism set in motion when, as she puts it, new flesh is smelled. Pressure, competition, snobbery, cruelty, merchandising, and rigorous stratification contingent on name, rank and salary number. Her first impression of movie people was that they had faces and were minus eyes. "Fear is concealed in smiles and flashing teeth. 'Please say you still love me,' the kings and queens are really saying." Years ago, in the interview mentioned earlier, Myrna Loy had said, "I serve not one boss but several million. For my boss is—the Public."

Miss MacLaine's reaction to public ownership was one of resentment. Yet "after all how could I call it an invasion of privacy when I had chosen to splash myself across the screen, seeking the applause and approval and attention of strangers?" With fame came power and with power control over the hiring and firing of others. Friends found her success hard to handle, and there were also complex problems with publicity and with management.

Miss Loy to the contrary, she did after all have one boss. That Wallis owned her was unquestionable, but she did not readily accommodate herself to being regarded as a can of peas. Classification as commodity was terrible, and when the producer made the mandatory pass, she wondered if slapping him in the chops would constitute the ladylike behavior her mother had always advocated.

There are harrowing descriptions of the dinners to which one is invited only if one is working, and of the stylized social games those who have ostensibly made it play. Bitchery, malice, pretense, lies, conversations on the lines of "Let's talk about you. What did you think of my latest picture?" Like Miss Bennett, she took consolation in the life of the set, in being part of a temporary working family. And like Miss Bennett (and Mr. Mitchum and countless others) she felt that many of her earlier films were trash. When five years with Wallis stretched with suspensions to nine, she sued and won. But in the course of this, while the can of peas had revolted, the pea factories had shut down and no other studio would hire her. The columnist she walloped, by the way—"he wasn't crazy about me" —had managed to say that she was guilty of "ding-a-ling" politics, had gone out of her mind, had had an abortion and a botched up nose job, had attempted suicide and had lost the court case with Wallis. When she hit him, both President Kennedy and Governor Brown sent congratulatory wires. Rocky Graziano sent boxing gloves.

Brian Moore who, of course, writes for the movies, paints in his novel about an author with personal and professional crises a devastating picture of two Hollywood types: the producer as monster, the bit player as loser.

Listen for the sounds of love...

Where do you hear them?

In a plea for help from someone who needs it? In a dialogue between students and the Establishment? In a talk session for a marriage-on-the-rocks? At a Catholic Mass conducted in an Episcopal Church?

You'd be surprised.

The sounds of love are everywhere — anyone can hear them. If they *listen*.

The Paulists listen. But, like everything in life, the things that matter most are the hardest.

It isn't easy being a Paulist. But then, the best things in life never are.

If you are interested in more information about the Paulist priesthood, write to:

Rev. Donald C. Campbell, C.S.P.
Vocation Director

Paulist Fathers

Room 114A
415 West 59th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Boweri," Fergus thinks, "probably thinks of me as a very simple person, a sort of peasant. I am a writer. I have only one persona, whereas he has multiple corporate and personal identities." Boweri in turn tells Fergus that he is lucky to be responsible only to himself (as if he is). "Me, maybe two thousand employees depend on me for their jobs. I am a slave to people. If I died tomorrow, I tell you, there'd be sixteen companies in some sort of trouble." A man who either is a barbarian or plays the role, he decks the halls with the entire output of the Book of the Month Club and the Modern Library and boasts of having mastered rapid reading. "I liked it so much that for kicks I bought the company that sells the course. I put some money in, and since then it's doubled its growth rate. I like to do things that are worthwhile. Cultural things, you know?"

His raving egomania is mirrored in that of the other Hollywood stock figure, the perennial rounds-maker, who also, ironically, harps on Fergus' creativity. "I envy you, you writers, it doesn't matter what you look like, your creativity goes on. I used to see a lot of writers in the old days when I was under contract to Metro."

Boweri tries to blackmail Fergus—*Amigo,* you're pushing me—by invoking the morals clause in his contract. This clause, which Dalton Trumbo had had deleted from his own contract, was in effect used against him when he refused in 1947 to attest to his convictions before HUAC. "Suspended and prohibited from working elsewhere in pictures until such time as I bellow to the moon or a federal judge that I certainly am not and never never was a communist," he served time in a Federal Correctional Institute and then found himself temporarily excluded from "a small industry which employs 30,000 certified patriots. But Hollywood isn't the country and it isn't the flag and it isn't the world and it doesn't occupy the summit of human culture: and who among us can complain honestly of intellectual malnutrition for not having talked this week to Jack L. Warner?"

These letters, brilliantly edited and footnoted by Helen Manfull of Pennsylvania State University, are as she says—for once an introduction renders true billing—wonderfully fascinating, tender, vitriolic, occasionally flippant. Trumbo, a man in love with the language, a Herzog who mails his letters, throws as much vigor into addressing nuts and tradesmen as he does into communications to family, friends, enemies and colleagues. To an unknown pest: "I have always been interested in the morbid aberrations which drive persons like yourself so pompously to seek correspondence with strangers. In this respect your letters have been illuminating. But they also reveal you as a witless and meddlesome old ass, self-deluded and full of vapors." To Murray Kempton: "Another objection might stem from the contempt you feel for those who write for motion pictures. Such contempt, of course, isn't uncommon among intellectuals. Indeed, it's often seemed to me that Hollywood is as necessary to the intellectuals as the nigrah to his cracker neighbors." To Guy Endore: "They want to grade us like quarters of beef. They want us to present our rumps and receive thereon, in purple ink, a seal which reads 'Accredited Writer.' But it wasn't a government stamp that made you a novelist and a screenwriter; it wasn't a government stamp that made Ben a poet and a novelist and a screenwriter; it was in each instance the man himself sweating out in solitude long hours and days and years of drudgery. That is what makes a writer, and not these silly seals of accreditation. Nor will absence of the seal make any of us poorer writers, nor keep our work much longer off the screen." And on two differing occasions, to a lawyer and to the passport office, the same all-purpose statement: "The curious and ugly thing about this whole business of compulsory revelation lies in the fact that most people actually prefer to be open and forthright about their beliefs and affiliations. To believe in something that can't be openly expressed is an absurdity, and they know it."

Since I. C. Jarvie loves the movies, it is a pity that he has managed to cough up with such a turgid study. The material does include a valuable bibliography, but Jarvie himself bogs down in his own methodology, defensive posture (if the movies are in the main trash, why should a sociologist contemplate them?) and windy moralizing: "There is an eminent lady star of whom it is said that however wholesome she looks, she got there by sleeping with more people more often than anyone had believed possible even in

Special BERRIGAN Issue

Holy Cross Quarterly
80 pp., $1.95 postpaid
Bulk rates on request

Holy Cross Quarterly
Holy Cross College
Worcester, Mass. 01610

Copies also on sale at perfs. of "Trial of the Catonsville 9," Good Shepherd-Faith Church, 152 W. 66 St., N.Y.C., Feb. 1-March 31.

FOR 25 YEARS THE WORLD'S MOST NEEDED GIFT

Give to help people
CARE - New York, N.Y. 10016
or your nearest office

REVIEWERS

NORA L. MAGID, formerly Literary Editor for *The Reporter,* has for years been a passionate movie magazine reader.

JORDAN BISHOP, the author of two books on Latin America, is currently working on his first novel.

ARLENE SWIDLER is managing editor of Temple University's *Journal of Ecumenical Studies.*

DAVID CORT's most recent book is *Revolution by Cliché.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jaundiced Hollywood. One must hope the rewards of fame and fortune compensate her for those years." He peppers his pages with foreign phrases, French and Latin, and with questions most of which he attempts to answer; and while there is a nice candor in his disposing of one of his own arguments by saying that he does not quite believe what he has just said and does not know how to modify it, the fact remains that inside this little book, rendered fat with the impedimenta of his profession, there is a love letter trying to get out.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 459)

retaining the religion course. You need the religion course to save the kid from the rest of the curriculum. (Ditto CCD.) Also, you need the religion course to get to parents and I don't mean just by way of the students, though kids of 16 and 17 are teaching lots of things to lots of parents these days. You reach the parents through the religion program by creating enough questions about the war, poverty, race, and all the other neat things we live with so that the parents come to you hot and bothered with the question "What's this got to do with religion?" This goodly hassling is happening nationwide now and is probably the only meaningful form of adult education going on in the country. Proof of the old saw that it is not in our successes but in our troubles that we are saved, as Isaiah or one of them fellas said.

I am assuming, of course, that the religion course has managed to survive its reform and that catechists now are down to scratch. Scratch is the name of the new post-movement catechetics. Scratch, skipping over many things, is a course where students come together with older students called teachers and talk about their lives, their feelings, especially their anger, their homes, their towns, their society, their environment. If there were a course in the public school curriculum called Problems in Being Human in a Non-human Society, Including and Especially in this Non-human School, you wouldn't need scratch in the Catholic system and you wouldn't need the Catholic system either. But there isn't any scratch in the public schools. Now that the famous catechetical movement has stopped moving, we have a chance to begin scratch in our own shop. Then when we fold, we will have something to offer the general populace other than an imitation of the second-rate.

If Catholic schools were avant-garde in any sense, *any* sense, Moran would have a case. And maybe he thinks that by canning catechetics, the schools would go through a therapeutic identity crisis and come out radicalized and innovative—models and prototypes for all the schools in bondage. This is such a long shot, though, that it passes into the realm of dream. With our track record in the *avant garde* department, the odds are 1500 to 4 that we'd wind up with private academies for the richies.

Now, speaking of that, a funny thing is happening right here in the Athens of Spiro's Middle America. Our local public school board did a little redistricting a while back to achieve what is called racial balance. Suddenly a lot of folk of non-papal persuasion began applying for admission to the Catholic high schools in spite of heavy bread tuition. The less-white kids, I need hardly explain, can't afford the initiation fee. So what starts out as John Lancaster Spalding's idea of a Christian school becomes a version of one of Brother Wallace's sanctuaries down in Faulkner country. Before the white flag goes up on the schools, I'm afraid we're going to see this horror cropping up all over the alleged nation. Does anyone imagine that by clipping Matt 25, Jeremiah, the social encyclicals of John and Paul, *The Catholic Worker*, *Commonweal* out of the curriculum, you are going to head this Grand Guignol off at the pass? Gabriel, do you think so?

I get good vibes from Gabriel Moran's books and bad vibes from his magazine articles. What produced the worst vibes in this December piece was the last paragraph where he says "An official church makes sense to back educational projects"—and just drops it. I know he was laying that up against another idea—teaching religions free of church structure—but still I can think of a lot of educational projects the church shouldn't be backing right now, including about 90 percent of its own. Anytime you are that careless with language whilst handling large entities you are probably beyond the point of reproach, criticism or questioning. But that is a hell of a place for a theologian, or anyone, to be. Scratch.

THOMAS S. KLISE

Now in Paperback

THOMAS MERTON

Contemplative Prayer

"Speaking in his quietest, most persuasive tone . . . to remind us of the importance — nay relevance — of prayer for all Christians, contemplative or other."—*America*.

An Image Book, 95¢

DOUBLEDAY

Classified

● RATES: 50¢ a word, 12 words minimum. Centered lines: $3.00 a line. Discounts: 5%, 3 times; 10%, 7 times; 15%, 13 times. Payable with order.

Encounters

● OPPORTUNITY to explore self-defeating attitudes, feelings and untapped potential. Weekend workshops in Los Angeles and Bass Lake, $25. BILL VON DER AHE, Bass Lake, California 93604.

Magazine

● TWO, THREE, MANY . . . Third World radical quarterly. Subscription, $2. COMMITTEE RETURNED VOLUNTEERS, 840 Oakdale, Chicago 60657.

Travel

● WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE, $1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger-carrying freighters. TRAVL-TIPS, 40-21 CWB Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

CANTERBURY ECUMENICAL SUMMER SCHOOL

England, July 17-29, 1971

Low in cost; outstanding lecturers. Excellent accomodations at Christ Church College in the cathedral's shadow. Ideal "mini-sabbatical" for priests, teachers, laymen. Write for prospectus:

CANTESS

CANTESS REPRESENTATIVE

209 Greeves St. Kane, Pa. 16735

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To separate fact from fantasy, we invite you to

Take any 3 of these books

(values to $40.40)

for only $1 each

with a short trial membership in

The Library of Urban Affairs

Who belongs to The Library of Urban Affairs? Leading city planners, social scientists, government consultants, architects, concerned human beings.

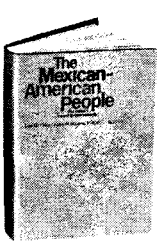
What are the advantages? Our editors select only the most useful, exciting, and valuable books in the field. They are offered to you at savings up to 30%. For every four books you buy, you choose a bonus book.

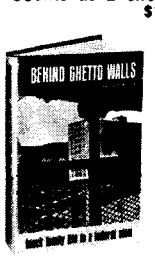
Should you join? Only if you are seriously concerned and want to be fully informed.

(retail prices shown)

35970. BEHIND GHETTO WALLS. *Lee Rainwater.* One of the most complete—and gripping—reports ever made on what it's like to live in a Negro slum. Based on a thorough, 6-year study of a St. Louis federal housing project, this compelling document suggests new, more effective social policies in every area. **$12.50**

62620. THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN PEOPLE. *L. Grebler, J. W. Moore, R. C. Guzman, et al.* The long-awaited results of the UCLA study on the nation's second largest minority. Probes every side of their life—work, religious ties, education and political organization. *Counts as 2 choices.* **$17.95**





85290. THE UNHEAVENLY CITY. *Edward C. Banfield.* A controversial debunking of urban reform efforts and social policies, by an influential political scientist and Presidential advisor. **$6.95**

38050. THE CITY. *John V. Lindsay.* The mayor of New York talks candidly about the job of governing his "ungovernable" city—suggesting approaches to big city problems in general. **$5.95**

65280. THE OMNI-AMERICANS/SOULSIDE. *A dual selection.* Albert Murray examines the U.S. Negro as an essential creator of the American cultural mainstream. *Plus* Ulf Hannerz' first-hand graphic description of ghetto people and their lives. **$12.90**

58750. THE LIVES OF CHILDREN. *George Dennison.* The already-famous story of a unique experimental school in the heart of a slum—23 incorrigible kids making phenomenal gains in growth and learning. **$6.95**

85480. URBAN PLANNING IN TRANSITION. *Edited by Ernest Erber.* From the 1968 American Institute of Planners' Conference, a candid, free-swinging debate on planning methods and policies. **$15.00**

87250. WILL THEY EVER FINISH BRUCKNER BOULEVARD? *Ada Louise Huxtable.* A Pulitzer Prize winner's witty and devastating collection on the deterioration—and few successes—of our cities. **$7.95**

64460. NEW REFORMATION: Notes of a Neolithic Conservative. *Paul Goodman.* A "radical conservative," the author of *Growing Up Absurd,* gets at the heart of our growing disaffection with the system and offers some practical, if startling, proposals for change. **$5.95**

61611. MAXIMUM FEASIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING. *Daniel P. Moynihan.* A slashing attack on the shaping and administration of the community action programs, with a blunt argument against the control of these programs by the poor. **$5.95**

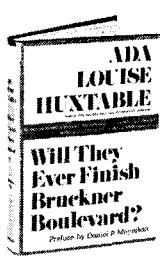
80580. THE STATES AND THE URBAN CRISIS. *Edited by Alan K. Campbell.* From obsolete state constitutions to political infighting, here is the story of why states are failing to deal with the crisis of their cities—told by urban experts at the American Assembly. **$5.95**

41910. DELINQUENCY, CRIME AND SOCIAL PROCESS. *Edited by Donald R. Cressey and David A. Ward.* The most comprehensive collection of papers on the causes and character of crime and delinquency ever assembled in one volume. **$12.50**

84430. TOWARD A NATIONAL URBAN POLICY. *Edited by Daniel P. Moynihan.* 25 experts evaluate what is being done—and what can be done—to improve the quality of urban life. **$7.95**

69770. POLITICS AND THE GHETTOS. *Edited by Roland L. Warren.* 13 experts—among them, Martin Rein, Tom Hayden, Whitney Young—examine the complex forces that create and perpetuate ghettos. **$7.95**

38120. CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO. *Edited by Albert P. Blaustein and Robert L. Zangrando.* Acts, court decisions, executive orders, speeches—over 100 documents that strikingly illuminate the black American's struggle for his constitutional rights. **$7.95**



37030. BUSINESS AND THE CITIES. *Edited by Neil W. Chamberlain.* Solid, hard-to-find information on what business is doing—and might do—about urban employment, ghettos, schools and racism. **$12.50**

73470. THE RSVP CYCLES. *Lawrence Halprin.* A talented planner and environmentalist explores the root processes man uses—and can use even more fruitfully—to shape his environment. "A handbook for the environmentalist of tomorrow."—*Stewart Udall. Counts as 2 choices.* **$15.00**

TRIAL MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

The Library of Urban Affairs 8-398
Riverside, N.J. 08075

Upon acceptance of this order, please enroll me as a trial member and send the 3 books whose numbers I have indicated. Bill me just $3.00 for all 3 plus shipping and handling. If not delighted, I will return them within 10 days and my membership will be cancelled. As a trial member, I need accept only 3 more selections during the next 12 months, all at reduced member prices plus shipping and handling. I understand that savings range up to 30%, and occasionally more. Each month, I will receive advance reviews describing forthcoming selections, along with a convenient form for requesting alternate selections or no book at all. For every 4 selections purchased, I may choose a bonus book. (Introductory offer counts as the first selection.)

3 books for only $1 each (write in numbers)

_____ _____ _____

Name .....

Address .....

City.....State.....Zip.....

(Offer good in continental U.S. and Canada only.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED